DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 147 078 RC 010 214

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TITLE Chicana Identity: Interaction of Culture and Sex Roles.
PUB DATE Sep 76
NOTE 35p.; Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Bibliographies; Changing Attitudes; Characterization; Cultural Awareness; Cultural Environment; *Cultural Factors; Ethnic Status; *Females; *Feminism; *Identification (Psychological); Labeling (of Persons); Literature Reviews; *Mexican Americans; Racial Recognition; Racism; Research Needs; Role Perception; Self Actualization; *Sex Role; Social History; Sociocultural Patterns
IDENTIFIERS *Chicanas

ABSTRACT

Presenting Chicanas as they are written and spoken of by certain people from within their culture, this paper aimed (1) to acquaint Chicanos and non-Chicanos with a history of struggles for equality and recognition for women within the Mexican/Chicano communities and where those struggles are manifested in today's Chicanas; (2) to direct those who have responsible roles in this nation's schooling systems to "informed sources of knowledge and interpretation" about the Chicana; and (3) to suggest, explicitly and implicitly, areas for further research on the subject of la Chicana. The paper presented a broad survey of historical and sociological factors central to many Chicanas active in the struggle for equal rights. Material for the survey was derived from both the Mexican/Chicano culture's literature on the woman and from interviews conducted with five selected women who identify themselves as Chicanas. The interviews were conducted with five urban Chicanas, ranging in age between early 20's and early 40's: a married, high school graduate, office manager; a single college student; a divorced, high school graduate, employment interviewer; a single teacher with an M.A. degree; and a single, PhD candidate, counselor. The Chicanas were asked about their use and definition of the term Chicana, the tie-in between the Chicano movement and Chicanas, institutions they felt socialized the Chicana into traditional roles, the connection between the overall Women's Movement and the Chicana Movement, and their relationships with Chicanos. (NQ)

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ED147078

II.B.

CHICANA IDENTITY: INTERACTION OF CULTURE AND SEX ROLES

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Submitted to:

The Women's Research Program
National Institute of Education

September 1976

RC 010214

PREFACE

La Chicana - Mujer de la Raza
Mestiza - India e Española
Hers is a heritage of struggle
Hers is a heritage of strength
May she believe in her strength above all
May she join her strength and struggle to
that of her hermanas
and
May this commitment be equal to the needs
of our people
La Chicana - Líder en la causa
La Chicana - Mujer de Atzlán

Consuelo Nieto

Chicana Identity: Interaction of Culture and Sex Roles

Introduction

Many women in the United States are involved in a quest for equality; that is, they are striving to eliminate the social conventions and legal codes that accord them inferior status to men in the conduct of their personal, family and public lives. This movement for equality is by no means monolithic. Great differences in motivation, in goals, and in strategy and tactics are seen among the involved women. One basis for the aforementioned differences is that of cultural foundation, the background from which the concerned woman develops her individual striving for equality. When, in this country, that cultural background is non-white and/or non-English speaking, one of the so-called "minority" cultures, the basis for differences is increased markedly.

Why is this so? At root, historically, the cause lies in that non-white and/or non-English speaking females in America have been doubly victimized by both sexism and racism. This has meant that, though the woman of a minority culture has faced sexual discrimination from within as well as from outside her cultue, the racial/ethnic discrimination emanating from the majority culture has had a far greater impact on her because it has been directed against her people as a whole. In response to this double discrimination, when the minority woman has engaged in the struggle for female equality, she has usually done so in the context of her own particular racial or ethnic culture rather than in concert with women of the majority culture.

Culturally different women also have to protect themselves against many well-meaning majority-culture persons. These latter often want to "capture" the culturally different woman and make her their "minority woman" who speaks for all ethnically and racially diverse women.

Unfortunately, some minority women succumb to this temptation to speak for the women of many, sometimes quite different (e.g. black, Asian, Latin and Native American), cultures as if they were one, creating a new type of "melting pot" myth.[3] One can be a minority person; that is, one can be, recognized as distinguishably different in national origin, language, color or race from those who form the racial-language culture of the majority of Americans. Yet, by using the term "minority," one identifies little more than that the person is different from and of a group less in number than the "majority."

In order to speak of what one is rather than of what one is not requires a substantial knowledge of culturally different people. This is acquired by study that sensitively discerns each culture's unique characteristics while noting attributes shared with others. For example, differences among Americans who are call Hispanic, Latino, Spanish-speaking or Raza - all generic terms - can be quite marked, especially to the people themselves. Chicanos are not Cubanos are not Puertoriqueños are not Colombianos are not Guatemaltecos, to name but a few. They do share a common Spanish language, but differences based upon race, culture and location often provide far more distinguishing variations. When understood, differences such as these enrich the larger society and offer further alternatives for social and personal living; when ignored, these differences habitually emerge in a most bothersome manner for the whole society. Thus, it falls to those people who speak of minorities - here of the minority woman - to realize and be sensitive to the plurality explicit in that word, minorities.

As previously mentioned, many culturally different women maintain a relative separatism from majority-culture people while pursuing their rights as women, a separatism that hides their struggle from the eyes of the majority. Though the women have been active, they have not generally been communicating their activities through literature and other media, the chief means of access to a minority group that the majority would possess. Thus, the outsider has had to look hard for information. Recently, however, there has been greater articulation to the national community of the concerns and the stories of culturally different Americans. Included in this articulation have been the stories of the struggle for

women's rights within the various cultures.

The concept of this paper is to present one culturally different group of women - Chicanas - as they are written and spoken of by certain people from within that culture. There are three main purposes for such an endeavor. One is to acquaint Chicanos and non-Chicanos alike with a history of struggles for equality and recognition for women within the Mexican/Chicano communities and where those struggles are manifested in today's Chicanas. La Chicana is usually assumed to be so under the influence of machismo that people tend to dismiss her story out of hand as lacking for significant models or instances of assertion for rights against the status quo. But, though male domination and dominion have a high profile in the Mexican/Chicano cultural tradition, and rigid application in some instances, there is evidence that it is neither as universal nor as pervasive as commonly believed. Moreover, outstanding female personalities in the struggle for equality and equity have manifested themselves in the past and continue to do so up to this day.

Another purpose of the paper is to direct those who have responsible roles in this nation's schooling systems to informed sources of knowledge and interpretation about the Chicana. Educators have been, and continue to be, key people in transmitting attitudes and information about Chicanas to Chicanas. As with the general population, ignorance and stereotyping are rife among educators. Hence, the author considers it important to not only generally inform educators on the Chicana, but also to make observations aimed at improving their attitudinal postures, communication skills and knowledge content as professionals.

The third purpose to be accomplished here is to suggest, explicitly and implicitly, areas for further research on the subject of la Chicana. This paper attempts a broad survey of historical and sociological factors central to many Chicanas active in the struggle for equal rights. But, significant impact upon the knowledge and motivation of Chicanas and non-Chicanas can only be made by deeper and broader study of the subjects raised in this article.

Material for the present survey is garnered from both the Mexican/Chicano culture's literature on the woman and from interviews conducted

by the author with five selected women who identify themselves as Chicanas. The former sources present the more scholarly, historical viewpoint of the Mexicana/Chicana, while the interviews serve to point up present-day attitudes and activities of the Chicana. Hence, a certain type of validation of the literature is attempted through the interviews.

The Chicana in Literature

Literature on the Chicana is sparse and difficult to find. Nevertheless, the material that is available does point up certain recurring themes. One way to "get into" the literature on the Chicana is to look briefly at her status as an economic producer. A significant part of the struggle for her rights is a response to her economic situation. When one looks at how the Chicana ranks statistically as a working person in the American economy one has the results of the double discrimination of sexism within the context of racism pictured dramatically. According to data presented in the National Education Association's Women's Rights Task Force Report, the job and salary status of the American work force is ranked thus: white males, minority males, white women, and lastly, minority women. Within the bottom group, black women have a higher status than Spanish-speaking women, and among Spanish-speaking women, Cubans, who have a higher degree of education, surpass Chicanas and Puerto Rican women.[1] Supporting the NEA report, the following U.S. Department of Commerce statistics illustrate clearly the status of the Chicana.[2]

Median Years of Education - March 1973

	Female	Male
Mexican American	9.0 years	9.1 years
Puerto Rican	9.4 "	9.5 "
Other Spanish Origin	11.8 "	12.0 "

Median Annual Earnings - March 1972

	Female	Male
Spanish-speaking	$ 2,647	$ 5,786
Black	5,147	7,301
White	5,998	10,593

Annual Income of Spanish-Speaking Women - 1972

	Less than $2,000	$2,000-4,999	$5,000-9,999	Over $10,000
Mexican American	48.5%	36.6%	13.8%	1.1%
Puerto Rican	22.4	55.6	20.7	1.1
Other Spanish Origin	34.6	39.7	21.9	4.2

Concerned Chicanas, when confronted by statistics such as these and the reality of the conditions behind them, begin sorting out the causes for the low status of Chicanas as workers. They find that, among other causes, the educational preparation of the Chicana frequently has not provided her with marketable skills except at the lowest levels. Thus, one finds the majority of Chicanas working as semi-skilled and unskilled workers in factories, as field hands, as domestics, as laundry and cleaning workers, and as clerical workers. Very few are found in the professional fields. Anna Nieto-Gomez, who serves as an educational consultant for the Chicana Service Action Center in Los Angeles (a center designed to help women, especially Latinas, in the areas of personal and employment counseling), has found that:

> Three major factors seriously affect the Chicana woman from securing and maintaining job placement. They are communication barriers, lack of general knowledge concerning interviewing techniques (i.e., application forms and oral interviews) and lack of competitive entry skills.[3]

Both Nieto-Gomez[4] and Yolanda Nava[5] accuse the schools of inadequately preparing the Chicana for a career. The schools, they insist, reinforce the stereotype of a Chicana being fulfilled only through the roles of wife and mother. When this stereotyped fantasy dissolves for many young Chicanas - through the new family's need for her additional income, or the role of sole support thrust upon her by a divorce or widowhood, or perhaps later in her married life when she is discovering new directions for her energy - Nieto-Gomez and Nava contend, she may be prepared for only the most unskilled of jobs or tasks.

Aware of the Mexican/Chicano culture's traditional regard for the place of women, aware further of the schools' neglect of the young Chicana's training for future economic productivity, and aware of the

exploitation of and discrimination towards working Chicanas by the larger society, many women of Chicano communities have sought change and redress of grievances through the dynamics of the Chicano movement. For a long time the Chicanas' efforts have been put toward a community involvement which has not distinguished nor prioritized needs according to sex. Educational neglect and economic exploitation, for instance, have been concerns of the whole community, Chicano and Chicana alike, because both have suffered from them. One could discern differences between the treatment accorded men and that given to women, but both were treated so badly that differences were laid aside and efforts concentrated on getting better treatment for the community as a whole.

Currently, however, a number of Chicanas are establishing a priority for themselves as women and for more women-oriented needs in the community within the context of el movimiento. As Armando Rendón observes in Chicano Manifesto, "The woman of the Chicano revolt believes that Chicano liberation must also include Chicana liberation."[6] Rendón's personal perception is that the struggle going on between Chicano and Chicana, "is not a mortal struggle nor a divisive one, because the women are saying that they want to be recognized by the Chicano macho as a companion in the revolution."[7]

The theme of companionship between Chicano and Chicana in the movement's struggle is the dominant one in the literature on the Chicana. Here the Chicana's personal hardship is validated in and through her activism for the entire community. Her struggle is seen as being a common one with the Chicano who shares with her the oppression of racism. He is more often than not viewed by the Chicana as a sharer in her victimhood, not as her male oppressor.

But, when one attempts to assess how well the Chicana's quest for equality is doing as a part of the Chicano movement, the answer is not easy to come by. Take, for instance, the recommendation presented by a group of activist Chicanas at a Chicano conference in Colorado a few years ago: "It is the consensus of the group that the Chicana woman does not want to be liberated."[8] How does one understand such a statement when the women making it were by their very presense at the conference far and away more "liberated" than the majority of their Chicana sisters?

Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez, a Chicana feminist, sheds some light on that group's statement: "I sat back and thought, 'Why? Why? I understood why the statement and I realized that going along with the feelings of the men at the convention was perhaps the best thing to do at the time."[9]

This concern for the feelings of the Chicano are echoed and reechoed throughout most of the literature. Many Chicanas feel that if they offend the men or take roles the men have traditionally held they are seriously undermining the culture, unity, and therefore the Chicano movement. Irene Rodarte stresses the necessity for unity within the social movement of the Chicano community. But, she also emphasizes that the responsibility for unity is as much in the hands of the Chicano as it is in those of the Chicana. Male egos, under the disguise of machismo, Rodarte believes, can also destroy the cohesiveness of the community and thwart achievement of the movement's goals.[10] Elena García, in her paper, "Chicana Consciousness: A New Perspective, A New Hope," recognizes that Chicanas must be sensitive to the threat that their new role poses to the Chicano and reassure him of her support, but at the same time the Chicana should not back away from the need for self-development.[11]

It is a commitment to her personal self-development that often brings the Chicana into direct conflict with many Chicanos. Self-development does not seem to square with the traditional image some Chicanos, even sensitive ones, and some Chicanas have of la mujer. They see self-development as already contained in the traditional role of the woman, as evidenced by Abelardo's poem, La Hembra:

> No woman will cling to youth, the fact illusive,
>
> With such tenacious abandon as she does, carrying a
> Niño in her womb is the crux of all femininity
> that forever was.
>
> Her joy, her love, her endurance is impressive but
> the way she suffers almost without a tear makes
> the Chicana divinely appear, makes her life fully
> mysterious yet so clear.
>
> Your critics whisper your life is dull,
> reclusive, deep down they envy your security,
> you can give and take all with such maturity,
> you can change pain to joy and lust to purity.[12]

Some writers carry this concept of the woman, hembrismo, to near-mythic

proportions, joining it to an idealized machismo to form the dual-principled essence of what it means to be Mexican/Chicano.[13] Against this lofty ideal of the woman the Chicana's desire for a different, personal self-development appears to be a selfish indulgence.

> I am concerned with the direction that Chicanas are taking in the movement. The words such as liberation, sexism, male chauvinism, etc., are prevalent. The terms mentioned above plus the theme of individualism are concepts of the Anglo Woman's movement. The familia has always been our strength in our culture. But it seems evident that you are not concerned with the familia, but are influenced by the Anglo Woman's movement... And since when does a Chicana need identity? ... The time has come for the Chicanas to examine the direction we wish to take. Yes, we need recognition. Our men must give this to us. But there is danger in the manner we are seeking it... We are going to have to decide what we value more, the culture or the individual (as Anglos do)?[14]

The preceding quotation makes several significant statements germaine to the present discussion of the Chicana. It affirms another highly valued institution of the Chicano culture, la familia; it extends the family concept to el movimiento; it identifies the Anglo and anglicization of the Chicano as a major threat to la familia; it recognizes the Chicana's need for equity; but, it equates a speaking out for that equity with an anglicization of Chicano culture. The statement's author assumes what Anna Nieto-Gomez terms a "loyalist" stance in contrast to a "feminist" position.[15] As she would in the family, this movimiento Chicana defends the Chicano from what she believes to be a divisive force, feminism, which she further believes to be Anglo-inspired and hence, foreign. For the "loyalist," feminism distracts the movement's concentration from the real enemy: Anglo racism directed at all Chicanos. The Chicano movement values highly the familia as a social unit and as symbolic of el movimiento itself. What many in the movement perceive Anglo society as having become is the antithesis of familia: the Anglo is basically individualistic. From this particular view of Anglo society comes the images of the Anglo women, particularly feminists, as ambitious, selfish, anti-family, anti-cultural and anti-man. Chicanas who have pointed up inequities suffered by the women in the movement have been quickly tagged as "women's libbers" or some other term that would tie them to the

distrusted Anglo women in order to discredit these Chicanas.

> Harrassment of femenistas forced many Chicanas to suppress their convictions... These castigated Chicanas were identified as man-haters, frustrated women, and "agringadas," Anglo-cized... To gain approval, acceptance and sometimes even recognition, many Chicanas were careful not to be associated with anything considered "women's lib."[16]

The Chicana who rejects expressing priority for her rights and who has accepted a basic given role in Chicano society, one loyal to la familia, to the Chicano and to keeping disagreements with the Chicano "in the familia," how does this Chicana, as Isabel Hernandez asks, "take an active part in the movement without jeopardizing the needs of the Chicano as related to traditional roles?" Hernandez' answer invokes the mutual bonds and respect the Chicana and the Chicano are to forge as partners in the revolutionary struggle. Having shared equally and without deference to former roles in the work and suffering of bringing about the movement's goals, the Chicana is recognized by the Chicano and herself as no longer bound by previous conceptions of her role. She becomes, in this new situation, a new woman who shares with the Chicano a new man, the management and work of their people.[17]

> "Machos" and the Mexican family cannot ask a woman to go back to her traditional role, if she has actively participated in the struggle and taken the same risks as her male counterpart. New roles, new attitudes and new family relations well be created, all members of "La Raza" will be judged by their worth as human beings and not according to sex, age or socio-economic level.[18]

Numbers of Chicanas, though admiring and respecting their sisters' more traditionally defined dedication to la causa, disagree strongly with the latters' attitudes towards taking a stand on Chicana rights.

> Chicanos in the movement have been putting down the liberation of women as either a 'white trip,' a cop out, or a bourgeoise trip. The liberation of women has been shoved aside. However, feminism in the Chicano movement has emerged as a most powerful movement. If understood correctly, one can clearly see that the liberation of women is in no way reactionary. It is not divisive, and least of all, it's definitely not a 'white trip.'[19]

These Chicanas who hold for a stronger feminism tend to set certain priorities for themselves as women. For some, priority means concentrating

their energies for the community where women are the greater number in need, for example, welfare and child care. Other Chicanas work for their hermanas by pressing for an equity between the sexes of the benefits derived from the actions of the Chicano and civil rights movements, especially in employment and educational opportunities. This goes hand in hand with the training and education many Chicanas are receiving from other Chicanas, and from Chicanos, in the performance of non-traditional social and work roles.

The formation of Chicana organizations designed to deal with the above issues has been both the result of community concern and support for the Chicana, on the one hand, and, on the other, an act of last resort for some Chicanas weary of trying and failing to have themselves and their issues substantially considered. The Chicana Rights Project of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) is an example of support for Chicana rights. The Project is "a research and litigation endeavor designed to combat the patterns and practices of discrimination which face large numbers of Chicana women." Areas of special concern for the Chicana which the Chicana Rights Project has taken up are employment and training, birth control and sterilization, day care, and educational opportunities.[20] An expression of the other kind of motivation for organizing is found in a recent article in La Luz describing a new Chicana organization HEMBRA:

> The need for HEMBRA evolved from the isolation the Chicana felt and this isolation was compounded by the failure of other Chicano groups to deal with her needs. ... HEMBRA's purpose is to address issues specifically related to La Chicana's needs and to provide a support system for Chicanas...[21]

Though HEMBRA is cited as an example of Chicanas supplying for a lack in Chicano movement concerns, it, like Chicana organizations of similar origin, does have considerable support from the community, as the article evidences.

Disagreement with loyalist-minded Chicanas and Chicanos is founded, for many feministas, in a much broader interpretation of Chicano culture and its flexibility in the face of new situations. As an example, it is a fact that Chicanas do not have many leadership role models across the spectrum of professions and organizations. Those models have been

provided mainly by persons from the majority culture. This has led people in the Chicano community to assert that since such roles and behaviors are found in persons of the majority culture these behaviors could not possibly be congruent with Chicano cultural values. However, in the minds of Chicanas who have a more liberal view of the culture, such an attitude arises from an ignorance of the similarities, the universals, that Chicanas share with all women. Elora Ida Ortiz argues that roles and behavior are not necessarily passed on through blood lines or culture lines.

> ... [R]ole manifestations are composed of behavioral patterns capable of being transmitted to anyone and among varied cultures. This means that the successful attainment of the Chicana of any professional role is dependent on learning the proper behaviors associated with the role.[22]

Thus, Ortiz' approach acknowledges the validity to Chicanos of knowledge and behaviors from without the traditional cultural store, an acknowledgement shared by many Chicanos.

Anna Nieto-Gomez sees the conflict between the feminist-tending and the loyalist-tending to be the result of not clearly defining the differences between the Anglo and Chicana feminist movements. Historically, she maintains, the oppression of the Anglo woman has differed from that of the Chicana; culturally, their destinies, their ways of living out life, are each unique; thus, their struggles are parallel, not mixed. To maintain her self-determination, Nieto-Gomez concludes, the Chicana cannot integrate herself in the women's movement per se.[23]

From the foregoing discussion it is easy to see why Chicanas, for the most part, do not consider the women's movement in the United States universal to all women in the country, and why they generally do not wish to ally themselves with the Anglo women. In summary, the Chicanas' reasons for separation are: the uniqueness of the Chicana's struggle, integrated as it is with the community's struggle and the fight to preserve her culture; the suspicion with which she regards the Anglo woman, seeing her as part of that society which has discriminated against la raza; and, for many, the fact that they are working hand in hand with the men, not against them, as they consider being done by Anglo women.

For those Chicanas who would venture beyond the bounds of el movimiento for some degree of mutual sharing and support, there are several areas of contact expressed in the literature. The most popular is for joining hands with other third world women, both here in the United States and abroad. Contact and exchange abroad was in evidence at the World Conference of the International Women's Year in Mexico City last year. A group of Chicanas sought out and met informally with women principally of the Latin American nations to the mutual education and support of both groups.

Coalitions between Chicanas and majority-culture women have been proposed by some Chicanas. One such proposal, voiced by Mirta Vidal, would have a component within the Chicano community's struggle participate in the women's movement at large.[24] Another participatory manner, expressed by this paper's author, is for the Chicana,

> ... to participate in the mainstream of the women's rights movement. She is needed here to provide the Chicana perspective as well as to provide support for the activities designed to help all women. Moreover, her unique role as a liaison person is crucial.[25]

Thus, the Chicana is seen as a linkage person, joining together the battles against both racism and sexism:

One overall statement can be made concerning the tenor of much of the writing about the Chicana by Chicanas. It is that the literature is a questioning, particularly of the means a Chicana will use to arrive at a definition of herself. This signifies, as Isabel Navar points out, an affirmation of the heterogeneity of the Chicana and a caution against classifying the Chicana as Anglo or as Mexican. She is part of a continually evolving culture, drawing from two worlds.[26]

Roots of La Chicana

As the Chicana seeks to define herself there is a searching back into her cultural and historical roots. Resisting the assimilation process, she desires to explore and to understand that which the mestizaje imparts to her. Octavio Paz, the Mexican poet and philosopher, reflects upon the condition of the Mexican woman. He sees her situation as an inheritance from both Indian and Spanish ancestors. Thus, he claims that, like most other peoples, the Mexican considers the woman to be a passive instrument, one meant to fulfill masculine desires, one meant to live out the ends assigned her by society. He writes:

> Whether as prostitute, goddess, grande dame or mistress, woman transmits or preserves - but does not believe in - the values and energies entrusted to her by nature or society. In a world made in man's image, woman is only a reflection of masculine will and desire. When passive she becomes a goddess, a beloved one, a being who embodies the ancient, stable elements of the universe: the earth, motherhood, virginity. When active, she is always function and means, a receptacle and a channel. Womanhood, unlike manhood, is never an end in itself.[27]

Paz reflects on this condition:

> We will not allow anyone to be disrespectful to women... Of course we should ask the Mexican woman for her own opinion because this "respect" is often a hypocritical way of subjecting her and preventing her from expressing herself. Perhaps she would usually prefer to be treated with less "respect" (which anyway is granted her only in public) and with greater freedom and truthfulness: that is, to be treated as a human being rather than as a symbol or function.[28]

In the articulation of her identity, the Chicana makes constant reference to her heroines. The current leaders, such as Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers, are seen as the receivers and transmitters of the Chicana's historical and cultural legacy. Thus, Letitia Hernandez writes in verse:

Daughters of Cuahtemoc,	Hijas de Cuahtemoc,
you are the flowers of our nation,	son las flores de nuestra nación,
you gave life to our Aztec people,	dieron luz a nuestra gente Azteca,
you were sacrificed to the god Huitzilopochtli,	fueron sacrificadas al Dios Huitzilopochtli,
you were violated by the Spaniards	fueron violadas por los españoles y

and you give life to our mestizo people.
Daughters, the Adelitas of the revolution,
Fighters for liberty,
We thank you, our mothers,
for you gave us the sacred privilege
of also being, Daughters of Cuahtemoc,
fighters for liberty, not only for our people, but liberty for ourselves, the Daughters of Cuahtemoc
who are the queens and mothers of our nation.

dieron luz a nuestra gente mestiza.
Hijas, las Adelitas de la revolución,
Luchadoras por la libertad,
Les damos gracias a ustedes, nuestras madres,
que nos han dado el sagrado privilegio
de ser también, Hijas de Cuahtemoc,
luchadoras por la libertad no solo para nuestra Raza, pero libertad para
nosotros, las Hijas de Cuahtemoc
que somos las reinas y madres de nuestra nación.[29]

Looking into Mexican history for female models, three figures stand out from the others: Malintzin Tenépal, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, and la soldera.

Malintzin Tenépal, also known as Malinalli, Doña Marina and La Malinche, holds a unique place in Mexican history. Born a princess from the province of Coatzacoalcos, and sold into slavery by her own mother, Malintzin became the confidant and companion of Hernan Cortéz, the conquerer of Mexico. Octavio Paz refers to her as the Mexican "Eve" and she is thus represented by José Orozco in his mural in the National Preparatory School in Mexico City. The Mexicans of today are seen as being her children, mestizos, born of Indian mothers and Spanish fathers. Her union with the Spaniard is seen as an act of violation, an act of treason. Fascinated and seduced by the Spaniard, Malintzin is symbolized as the one who destroyed her own people.[30]

The feminist Chicana does not perceive this to be the role of Malintzin. Rather, she views Malintzin's life as one of a victim - a victim of her mother who sold her into slavery in favor of her half-brother, a victim of the Mayans who held her a slave and gave her to Cortéz, and a victim of the conquerer himself - a victim of a male-dominated society, one with which the femenista can identify. Adelaida del Castillo writes: "She is the beginning of the mestizo nation, she is the mother of its birth... Any denigrations made against her indirectly defame the character of the Mexican/Chicana female. If there is shame for her, there

is shame for us."[31] The feminists see Malintzin not as one who destroyed her nation, but as one who singularly acted upon her convictions within the fabric of her personal history. The Mexicana also defends her against critics as can be seen in the following selection: "Replica femenina de uno de aquellos aventureras heroicos fue esta mujer... [D]oña Marina, con ser mujer de la tierra que esfuerzo varonil tenía... jamás vemos flaqueza, sino un gran esfuerzo de mujer."[32]

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648-1695), is eulogized as intellectual, as poet and as woman. She attempted to affirm herself in a society and at a time when this was not acceptable. It is noted that at the age of eight, when visiting Mexico City with her parents, she begged her mother to allow her to change her clothes to those of a boy so that under this guise she might seek entry into the university and knowledge.[33] As a nun, speaking to the criticism levied against her because of her learning, she says with obvious irony, "What can women know except the philosophy of the kitchen?"[34] Despite strong opposition, Sor Juana did not shrink from an adamant defence of women in her writings. In her "Reply to Sor Filotea," written as an indirect response to the bishop of Puebla's criticism of her intellectual pursuits, Sor Juana writes aggressively in defense of her learning.[35] She chides the males for the double standards they impose upon the women in her famous poem, "Redondillas," as the following excerpts show:

Foolish men who accuse women without reason without being aware that you are the cause of that guilt.	Hombrea necios que acusáis a la mujer sin razón sin ver que sois la ocasión de los mismo que culpáis.
If with eagerness without equal you solicit their disdain Why do you want them to do good when you incite them to evil?	Si con ansia sin igual solicitáis su desdén ¿Por qué queréis que obren bien si las incitáis al mal?
...	...
It seems you want boldness from your like for dementedness, the child who makes a mask, and then is afraid of it.	Parecer quiere el denuedo de vuestro parecer loco, el niño que pone el coco, y le tiene luego miedo.
...	...
Who has been most to blame in a passion that has erred, she who falls upon being courted, or he who courts for the fall?	¿Cual mayor culpa ha tenido en una pasión errada, la que cae de rogada, o él que ruega de caído?

Well, why are you surprised
at the blame that is yours?
like them as you have made them
or make them as you would like
to find them.

¿Pues papa qué os espantáis
de la culpa que tenéis?
queredlas cual las hacéis
o hacedlas cual las buscáis.[36]

Sor Juana, in her writings and life, presented a model for the education of women far more liberating than the crippling educational tradition of her time. Finally, succumbing to overwhelming pressures leveled against her, she renounced her books and died shortly thereafter in a state of melancholy and abdication. Nevertheless, her spiritual daughters in Mexico and in the United States, strengthened by her words, have taken up the struggle that she so vividly articulated with her life.

The present day Chicana, seeing herself involved in a struggle for herself and her people, relates to the folk heroines of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the solderas, women who accompanied the rebel armies as camp soldiers, sometimes taking arms themselves. These women have been subjects of revolutionary corridos (Mexican folk ballads) such as "La Adelita" and "Valentina." Chicanas recall others such as Juana Gallo, who led the men of her village to avenge an attack of the federales, and La Marieta, a guerillera under Francisco Villa. Thus, the soldera, a fighter for liberty, is viewed as a precursor of her modern-day sister.

Interviews With Five Chicanas

Turning to the interviews held with the five urban Chicanas,† one initially looks at their use of the term Chicana. All five indicated a preference for this term over all others used to denote an American woman of Mexican descent. Only Chicana E stated that the use of other terms, such as Mexican American or Latina, did not bother her. Chicana A stated: "A Chicana is someone who is trying to keep those things which are good

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† The following interviewee information identifies the women as to age, marital status, level of education attained, and current employment.

A	late 30's	married	high school	office manager
B	early 20's	single	3 yrs. college	college student
C	early 40's	divorced	high school	employment interviewer
D	early 30's	single	M.A.	teacher
E	late 20.s	single	PhD candidate	counselor, grad. stud.

about being a Mexican, and at the same time, the good things about being a woman." Chicana E indicated that her choice of this term was clearly a political one: "Other terms don't bother me, but I feel more comfortable with Chicana because... in my own mind I'm somewhat politically alert." At another point in the interview she emphasized the importance of this term because of its cultural context: "I identify culturally with that [word]... When we say 'Chicana,' certain things are implied in that term that have had a very big impact on who I am, and so that's how I perceive myself..., a Chicana."

The essence of being Chicana, as defined by these women, is an integrated oneness that embodies one's sex and one's culture. To be a Chicana is perceived as being very much a woman-in-process. Chicana B firmly noted that, "Just the idea that you call yourself Chicana is... I think it shows I'm trying to find my identity." She went on to say, "I'm not accepting what has been - what I have been given by others, by Anglos - I am looking - I am looking for me." To this can be added Chicana E's comment that being a Chicana involves change, which encompasses both a becoming, which is positive, and also a giving-up, which may be painful.

Acknowledging their Mexican heritage and ancestry, Chicanas B, C, D and E made very firm and explicit distinctions between a Mexicana and a Chicana. Chicana B saw the difference in terms of the word "Chicana" being symbolic of an awakening, an emergence of a new woman. Chicana C had this to say:

> I'm not a Mexican, because, number one, I feel that I don't belong to Mexico. I was born here in the United States, right? If I go to Mexico they're not going to recognize me - Mexicans from Mexico don't recognize us. As far as being Mexican-American, I don't like to be hyphenated by nobody, and that name was put on us by the Anglo; and I don't consider myself American all the way either because as long as we don't have the positions that the Anglo has how can you possibly be an American? I'm a Chicana.

Chicana D felt that Mexican women in this country, because of highly sheltered, isolated lives, lived in fantasy worlds, while Chicanas were more in touch with the real world. Variabilities growing out of class differences distinguished Mexicanas from Chicanas, according to Chicana E.

She observed that Mexicanas in this country were much less distributed among the economic classes than were their hermanas in Mexico or their Chicana sisters. Thus, differences based on class took on a greater significance when comparing and contrasting Chicanas to Mexicanas living in the United States.

Extensive discussion took place with each of the interviewees on the tie-in between the Chicano movement and Chicanas. Chicanas A, B, C and D insisted that, in the fullest sense, to be a Chicana one had to be socially committed; one had to be involved in and oriented to the Chicano movement. "She [the Chicana] wants change," stated Chicana B, "she's not satisfied." Chicana D asserted that, "The movement is part of the definition of what it is to be a Chicana; the two go together." In terms of her personal commitment to the movement, Chicana B poignantly stated:

> Here in the barrio, going down Brooklyn, I feel very good. I feel like if outsiders, foreigners, were to come through I hope they see something more than poor houses, low income stores, placas (grafitti). I hope they see more like a beauty to it. I think it's like seeing brown faces and hearing the language of the people... I think that the appearance of the barrio reminds me how much more I have to help my people. I think also of the children - you know how the children affect me a lot... I walk with them and it reminds me how I gotta stay in school. I gotta stay in school so someday I can help them.

Only Chicana E did not agree that the term, Chicana, necessarily indicates involvement in the movement. She said:

> I don't think that I have to be part of the movement in order to be who I am, a Chicana. I think I'm part of the movement because my personal interests are very much in the community... I think maybe they're both kind of coincidental things that happen to come together.

The institutions pointed out by these women as socializing the Chicana into traditional roles are the church, the school, and the family. In terms of the family, Chicana E illustrated a typical attitude towards an attempt on her part to break the traditional mold:

> As much as I really enjoyed school... I was always in conflict over how much could I enjoy and still be acceptable. I was just always harking back to my mother's comments... "You want to be a career woman?"

> Like, I mean, that's worse than a prostitute! My God, a prostitute's a few steps above a career woman!... I think I changed as I saw my mother getting liberated - as I saw my mother beginning to find a place for herself on her own and being sort of proud of actually having a job.

Chicana D spoke of how the young girl was frequently prepared for marriage and motherhood as her only possible goals. She noted that many Chicanas today, however, both by individual and group effort, were trying to raise the level of awareness within the community to demonstrate that motherhood and careers need not be mutually exclusive. Chicana A pointed to the need for expansion of roles, not only in terms of career, but within the very structure of the family itself. She spoke of this in personal terms:

> I was taught a role by mother. When I got married I tried to fulfill the role the same way that she had. ...[I]t caused a lot of conflict and a lot of unrest and unhappiness. So I had to search - it was very much like a spiritual search - I had to search for myself, for my own identity. I wanted to be a complete entity unto myself without being a part of my husband... I just couldn't fit the role I had been taught... [I]t meant a lot of trouble... My husband was used to seeing the other type. Those first years were very rough.

As for the schools in the barrio, Chicanas C and D emphasized the inadequacies of the school curriculum, which did not provide the Chicana with the goals nor the skills needed for a woman to be independent economically. Chicana C asserted that too much emphasis was placed on domestic skills:

> We'll teach our daughters to cook and sew. The schools should get them ready for jobs and for college. At my work the men come in; they have some skills. We can find them jobs. The women--the women only have skills to be maids. Who in the hell needs a maid in East L.A.?

The church, and most especially the Roman Catholic Church, was accused of enforcing the status quo and of placing the burden of guilt on those who deviated from its norms. Chicana A stated: "Church doctrine is not good; the Church doesn't accept me as me; it wants to put me in a box." Chicana B likewise noted that, "the Church lays guilt trips on us." Chicana C echoes the preceding: "The Church doesn't let [Chicanas] think; it gives them the answers." Both Chicanas D and E spoke at length of the close

integration of the teachings of the Church and the Chicana's culture. As Chicana D put it, "Just try a line or a separation between the Church and the culture. It's almost impossible... Where does culture begin and end? Where does Church philosophy begin and end?" Chicanas A, B and E spoke of the way social and religious events brought family and church together. They saw this as a positive thing. Familia might enforce sex-role scripting, but familia was, at the same time, the source of so much that was warm and good. These Chicanas did not want to lose this. Chicana B cautioned that Chicanas must be careful lest they lose the cultural richness born in familial ties: "to lose familia is to lose a basic source of our culture."

Questioned about the connection between the overall women's movement and the Chicana movement, the interviewees made some definite distinctions. They saw Anglo feminists operating as individuals with individual goals. The Chicana was viewed as working in and through her community. They saw the Anglo woman's identity as being one-dimensional, essentially involving her womanness. On the other hand, the Chicana was seen as a woman and as a member of a given cultural group, the two factors being seen as inseparable. Chicana E expressed this feeling:

> I feel that where I'm at as a Chicana is very much ... a result of being a part of a Chicano community. I think that's a consciousness that does not exist within the white women's movement. I think that the particular problems of growing up as a Chicana are very different from the problems of growing up as an Anglo and an Anglo sort of home atmosphere. I think we've had a very different experience growing up than other women have.

The thrust of the Anglo women's movement was viewed as being anti-male, while the Chicana was seen as being supportive of her male counterpart. The overall goal of Anglo women was seen by Chicana A as being, "... simply competing with the man; she's out to prove she's as good as the man."

The social status of the Anglo woman as both woman and Anglo was not lost on the Chicanas interviewed. Chicana B stated, "They've got so much already; as far as I'm concerned they're on top of the pyramid; we're still at the bottom." "They're victimizers as well as victims," claimed

Chicana D, "they have suppressed minorities." In a less pointed fashion, Chicana C observes, "Our goals, our timetables have to go slower because of where we're at and who we are."

Interestingly enough, each Chicana had a different approach to the question of participation in the women's movement. All agreed that Chicanas had to get together as a united group. However, the variance lay in the way they saw their role in the women's movement at large. Chicana A suggested that coalitions might be an answer. Chicana B rejected such an alliance, stating, "They don't care about us; I don't think they think of us at all in their movement." Chicana C indicated that Chicanas could work with Anglos on specific projects, such as legislation, and on an ad hoc basis. Chicana D was not sure she could or could not work with them. A different approach was taken by Chicana E: "One increases one's chances as one increases one's base. We can get farther by combining rather than by opposing. However, a certain amount of separation is necessary."

All the Chicana interviewees perceived their relationships with Chicanos along the same lines. They felt that their role was to help and support the Chicano. Chicanas A, B and C even stated that they should be willing to take second place to Chicanos on certain occasions. Chicana B said, "I want to help the man first... Gee, I hate saying that; I really hate myself for saying that, but that's where I'm at... our men have suffered too." As part of the continuing support the Chicana is expected to give the Chicano is the assurance that whenever Chicanas need to confront or challenge Chicanos it is to be done within the group, within the familia.

Referring to machismo, all saw this as a universal trait in all men, Chicana C making the only distinction: "What's different about the Chicano is his style of machismo." Chicana E complained:

> I'm very resentful of Anglos trying to push this off. It's like they've taken it up as a cause, that Latinos are hung up on the machismo thing. I think that they really don't understand it. They don't understand it in terms of the culture. They love to harp on it. It's like a nagging sort of issue with them. No, I don't think I see it to the extent that Anglos would like for me to see it.

Overall, the goals of these Chicanas can be summarized in terms of community needs and priorities. Obliteration of racism as well as sexism is to be pursued. Self-determination and equal opportunity, especially in jobs and education, are to be actively sought. As a result of this effort, stereotypes of the Chicana would crumble and a sisterhood which was caring and supportive would evolve. In the words of Chicana A: "The Chicana will have respect: respect for her ideas, respect for her rights, respect for her person."

Educational Implications

Reviewing the input from both the literature and the interviews results in posing certain implications for educators to consider. The major educational implications of the Chicana's search for her identity come directly from the self-definition seen in the previous pages: a woman seeking self-fulfillment in the context of her Chicano community.

Educational implication number one is that a passionate and informed knowledge by the Chicana of her culture is a key to her self-fulfillment. Likewise, self-fulfillment is also to be achieved through the Chicana's full acceptance and glorification in her unique womanness; this is educational implication number two. The third, and most important, implication for education is that the first two are inseparable, a synthesis of the two major faces of the Chicana's life. To say "Chicana" is to speak of a fusion, an inclusion of the energies of culture and womanness rather than a fragmenting of these.

Practical considerations flow from these three educational implications that can begin to be implemented immediately. Schools can begin, as some already have, to legitimize the culture of the Chicana child. The Chicana's family, community, traditions, heroines and heroes, styles of life and aspirations can be affirmed for her by the school through a curriculum charged by these elements. She needs teachers who not only can see value in her culture, but can lead her to critically develop and strengthen her understanding and acceptance of the culture.

Schools can also begin to bring before the young Chicana images and models of womanhood that are expansive to her vision of her present and future self. Segregative class assignments and arrangements, sexist

and stereotypical stories, books, work activities, films, pictures, athletic and social activities, and various other imagery and relations do not help the Chicana to enlarge her sources for determining herself. Yet, sensitive and supportive people and materials can be put at her use by educators.

A particular need of the young Chicana, one considered early on in this paper, is that she be equipped with the skills that can pave the way to her becoming an effective economic producer. Both she, her family and her community have suffered from the effects of both sex and ethnic stereotypes when schools have narrowed rather than widened the Chicana's choices for developing usefull skills. One way to begin to break these stereotypes is to utilize the adult Chicanas in the community as models for the young girls. This requires that the schools actively search out and know the Chicanas in their communities, not an unreasonable request of educators. But, especially should the schools not shrink from giving the young Chicana a good basic education on the grounds that "she'll never use it."

Practical considerations that can be deduced from the third educational implication mentioned above are potentially the most institution-changing. The Chicana sees her cultural development and self-development as one process. Any participation in that process that is divisive either frustrates the process or is frustrated by it. Hence, what is implied, and here made explicit, is for the education institutions and the culturally different Chicano community to begin developing much more integrating educational relations. Parent education to the schooling process and schools' education to the Chicano cultural process on a large scale might be a starting point. From there more inter-dependent relations could form. The educational system can help the Chicana to develop herself to a good degree; this should not be at the price of abandoning her culture.

Research Needs on La Chicana

In order to effectively carry out any practical programs for Chicanas, both in and out of the schooling process, a great deal more research is needed. The author views the purpose of research on the Chicana as providing a foundation for directing efforts in three ways: to

expand the Chicana's knowledge of role changes that have and are taking place among her hermanas, to expand her opportunities for beneficial personal and role diversification, and to inform non-Chicano peoples of the Chicana's contributions to female role development.

Historical documentation on the role of the woman in Mexican and Chicano societies has not come into its own as of yet. There are indications that much data exist as parts of general historical, anthropological, sociological and psychological works on the Mexican and Chicano, in songs, and especially in oral tradition. To date, however, few efforts have been made to gather this material, let alone to organize and analyze it for the lessons it might reveal. The recording of oral history on the Mexican and Chicano woman would seem to be a primary and very valuable source for researchers.[37] There is a need for documentation of the Chicana's history both in the land of her ancestry and in the United States. Furthermore, data should be gathered and analyzed so as to provide an adequate matrix of the Chicana's economic, political, educational and social conditions in this country.

The Chicana's identity is an area for further research. Who is the Chicana? What are her many faces? What is valid sex-role change for her in keeping with cultural identity? There is a need to know what changes are taking place today among Chicanas as to their roles within the family and the larger society, and what changes have taken place in the past. How have women succeeded; how have they failed? What were the barriers placed before them? More basically, what do they qualify as success; what changes, what goals are personal priorities for them? There need to be studies done, also, of Chicana, Mexicana and other Latina models of lifestyles for change.

The dynamics, as well as elements, of the Chicana-Chicano relationship should be considered. What has been the effect of the Chicano movement on traditional male-female relations among single persons, among married persons and because of the upward mobility of the woman? What is the role of the woman in the movement community? What forms of leadership has the Chicana taken who holds a designated leadership position as compared to the Chicana who is classified as a leader because she demonstrates through her daily involvement accepted leadership

practices? Has activism become a vehicle for personal change?

Research should describe the socialization influences exerted on the Chicana by family, school and church. The teaching styles of Chicano and Mexican parents with relation to girls and to boys should be investigated. With respect to socialization in the schools, researchers would do well to investigate the "hidden curriculum" utilized with the Chicana student. How does the institution, as well as individual school personnel perceive her? How do they attempt to provide her supportive resources? What are their expectations of her? What is the mode of interaction between Chicana student and teacher?

Finally, the Chicana, through internships and training, needs to develop the skills of research. If she is not provided such skills by those most concerned and able, once again she will endure exclusion and the research touching upon her and her needs will not achieve full legitimacy within her community.

The thoughts shared in these pages have reflected specific concerns touching upon la Chicana. This is one image of that panoramic vision to be seen when speaking of the Hispanic woman. The above stated needs and problems ought to be considered when examining the culture role and the sex role of each hispanic woman, whatever her land of ancestry. Collectively and singularly, there is a glorying in being members of La Raza. Hispanic women are emerging in this society and are taking leadership positions. Leadership, a directional force, must clearly define, understand and implement those strategies that will best serve la mujer. If self-determination is not actualized, others will utilize a regulating force to determine who she will become. That would be a loss to the nation. Thus it is with great hope and confidence that the author invokes the spirit of her hermanas, las mujeres de nuestra raza.

The author wishes to express her warmest appreciation to Paul Sandorff and Leonard A. Valverde for critiquing this paper for clarity of thought.

FOOTNOTES

[0] Asa G. Hilliard, III, "Motivating Oneself to Learn and Teach in a Non-sexist Way," Journal of Teacher Education 26 (Winter 1975): 311. Hilliard alludes to the danger of this propensity in stating: "One of the recurrent fallacies in human problem solving activities in the United States is the assumption that a problem can be defined so that a single definition will apply across the board to diverse groups. This is sometimes called the 'assumption of universality.' A failure to understand this principle will lead inevitably to misunderstandings and blind alleys. For example, the experiences of black women and white women in America have been radically different. This can be documented very easily and should come as a surprise to no one."

[1] National Education Association, Women's Rights Task Force Report, Washington, D.C., 1975, pp. 6-7. Data on minority women did not provide statistics on Native Americans and Asians as this information was not available for the report.

[2] U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, March 1973 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, May 1974), as quoted by Project on the Status and Education of Women, Spanish Speaking Women and Higher Education: A Review of Their Current Status (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, March 1975), pp. 2-3.

[3] Anna Nieto-Gomez, "Chicanas in the Labor Force," Encuentro Femenil 1 (Spring 1973): 39-40, 42-46.

[4] Anna Nieto-Gomez, "The Chicana - Perspectives for Education," Encuentro Femenil 1 (Spring 1973): 25.

[5] Yolanda Nava, "The Chicana and Employment: Needs Analysis and Recommendations for Legislation," Regeneración 2:3 (1973): 8-9. See also, Yolanda Nava, "Employment Counseling and the Chicana," Encuentro Femenil 1 (Spring 1973): 25.

[6] Armando Rendón, Chicano Manifesto, The History and Aspirations of the Second Largest Minority in America (New York: Collier Books, 1971), p. 184.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez, "The Women of La Raza," Aztlán, An Anthology of Mexican American Literature, ed. Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner (New York: Random House, Inc., 1972), p. 272.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Irene Rodarte, "Machismo vs. Revolution," in La Mujer - En Pie de Lucha, ed. Dorinda Moreno (Mexico, D.F.: Espina del Norte, 1973), p. 254.

[11] Elena García, "Chicana Consciousness: A New Perspective, A New Hope," in La Mujer, pp. 4-5.

[12] Abelardo, "La Hembra," in Chicano, 25 Pieces of Chicano Mind, quoted in Bernice Rincón, "La Chicana, Her Role in the Past and Her Search for a New Role in the Future," Regeneración 2:4 (1975): 38.

FOOTNOTES

[13] Abelardo Delgado, "Machismo," La Luz, December 1974, p. 6.

[14] "Chicanas Take Wrong Direction," Popo Femenil (California State University, Northridge, Chicano Student Newspaper), Special Edition, May 1973, p. 3, quoted in "La Femenista," Encuentro Femenil 1:2 (1974): pp. 35-36.

[15] Anna Nieto-Gomez, "La Femenista," Encuentro Femenil 1:2 (1974): pp. 35-36.

[16] Ibid., p. 36.

[17] Isabel Hernandez, "The Role of the Chicana in the Movimiento," in La Mujer, pp. 254-256.

[18] Ibid., p. 256.

[19] "Women Struggle," Women Struggle (California State University, Northridge, Unofficial Newspaper in Support of Anna Nieto-Gomez), April 1976, p. 1.

[20] Patricia M. Vasquez, "Legal Rights of Minority Women," speech given at National Education Association's 15th Annual Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education: "Women's Rights: A Force for Educational Equity," Washington, D.C., 20 February 1976.

[21] "HEMBRA - A Unique Feminism," La Luz, March 1976, pp. 16-17.

[22] Flora Ida Ortiz, "La Chicana: Her Role in the Educational Process," unpublished paper delivered at a conference of the State Convention of the Association of Mexican American Educators, Los Angeles, October 1974.

[23] Anna Nieto-Gomez, "La Femenista," pp. 43-46.

[24] Mirta Vidal, "Women: New Voice of La Raza," in Chicanas Speak Out (New York: Pathfinder Press, Inc., 1971), pp. 7-9.

[25] Consuelo Nieto, "The Chicana and the Women's Rights Movement: A Perspective," Civil Rights Digest 6 (Spring 1974): 42.

[26] Isabelle Navar, "Como Chicana Mi Madre," Encuentro Femenil 1:2 (1974): pp. 9-10.

[27] Octavio Paz, The Labyrinth of Solitude, Life and Thought in Mexico, trans. Lysander Kemp (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1961), pp. 35-36.

[28] Ibid., p. 38.

[29] Leticia Hernandez, "Hijas de Cuahtemoc," Regeneración 1:10 (1971): 9.

[30] Octavio Paz, Labyrinth, pp. 65-88.

[31] Adelaida del Castillo, "Malintzin Tenépal: A Preliminary Look Into a New Perspective," Encuentro Femenil 1:2 (1974): 71.

[32] "Marina y la Conquista de México," in La Mujer, pp. 152-153: This woman was a female replica of those heroic adventurers... [D]oña Marina, although being a woman of the earth, had the strength of a young man... we never see weakness, only the great strength of a woman. (Trans. by Consuelo Nieto)

FOOTNOTES

[33] Francisco Larroyo, Historia Comparada de la Educación en México (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1973), p. 168.

[34] Octavio Paz, Labyrinth, pp. 115-116.

[35] Francisco Larroyo, Historia, p. 169.

[36] Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, "Redondillas" (Hombres necios que acusáis), in Obras Completas (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1975), p. 109, trans. Bernice Rincón in Regeneración 1:10 (1971): 21.

[37] Arleen Stewart, "Las Mujeres de Aztlan: A Consultation With Elderly Mexican-American Women in a Socio-Historical Perspective" (Ph.D. dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology, 1973).

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